1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[5] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[5] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *uluri* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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Intermarriage

648 Despite occasional semi-hostile encounters between the upper Xingú groups, most contacts within the area are peaceful. Intermarriage is [597] common, and, since patrilocality is general, the wives are usually brought back to the village of the groom. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. For instance, if the man has strong enough kinship ties with the bride's village, he may stay there. This was true in the case of a member of the Trumaí village who was half Kamayurá. [167] Friction with one's fellow tribesmen can also lead to a move to another [598] village, as in the case of a Trumaí man and his wife who went to live with the Kamayurá because they believed that someone in their own group was practicing witchcraft against them.

602 One result of this mixing process, in addition to its obvious function 648 as a mechanism of diffusion, is that all of the upper Xingú groups are cross-cut by ties of kinship. Nearly every man on the Kuliseu River knows all others so located, and they are often related. Most of the extra-tribal kin ties of the Trumaí were with the Kamayurá and Mehinaku, but they also extended to many other villages of the area. For reasons not fully explored by Quain, the chief contacts of the Trumaí were with Tupian and Arawakan groups, especially those of the Kuliseu River. Little mention is found in Quain's notes of the Cariban tribes of the Kuluene River.

602 Kinship ties were probably responsible for the preference shown by 648 certain Trumaí men for particular tribes. While most men said that 186 the Kamayurá were "bad," a few claimed that they were really "good" and that the other tribes were the ones to be feared. One day a fire was sighted which, it was decided, had been lit by the Yuruna. A man having kinsmen among them left the village to tell them of his presence there and so prevent an attack. The alarm in this instance proved false.

648 Another basis for preference was past residence with a tribe, even as 186 a captive. However, if there was gossip of an attack by some tribe, even those most kindly disposed toward the potential enemy would become nervous and seek out their bows and arrows.

648 There was a great deal of friendly visiting between villages. The host 574 village was expected to provide food for their guests, but if women were brought, they joined in the women's work of preparing it. In the afternoon the men traded with each other and engaged in wrestling [517] contests. At night, singing, shamanism and speech-making were in order in the men's circle. Tobacco and large quantities of food were [602] passed around at all times. If the visitors were staying overnight, they slept in the house of their closest kinsman. The latter was also expected to greet them upon arrival and act as their host during their stay.

/154 cont./

000 B W harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther down-stream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalúti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

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* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auitï" by their neighbors; now in Guaraní the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

A W On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauitï (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

101 361 T The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaï settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

167 Y The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

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